

Mr. GREGG. Mr. Speaker, since this discussion began today by Members of the Republican side to point out the failure of your leadership of this House and the arrogance of power which you have undertaken, over 250 illegal aliens have probably been caught, and many, many more—possibly thousands—have crossed our border.

Since that resolution for discharge was filed with this House, over 100,000 illegal aliens have been caught crossing our border, and possibly a million have come into our borders.

You have to ask yourself: What level of irresponsibility can justify or can undertake to act so arbitrarily as to produce those results?

Mr. Speaker, you have failed this House; you have failed the people of the United States; and it is time that you and your party recognize that the American people are not willing to stand here and take the abuse and the cost which those illegal aliens are putting upon us because you want to make a political issue out of it.

IMMIGRATION REFORM LEGISLATION

(Mr. WOLF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I am very concerned that the House of Representatives is being denied the opportunity to debate and consider the Immigration Reform and Control Act. Since the decision was made to suspend a vote on the bill, the message of the public has been loud and clear in opposing such inaction.

This country critically needs reform of its immigration policy, and I believe that Congress had the obligation to provide a solution to address this national problem.

Four committees have reported legislation designed to restore order to our immigration laws. This legislation is the product of many months of studies and deliberations by special Commissions and Members of Congress. The Senate has twice addressed and approved legislation addressing this issue.

In light of the time and energy that has produced this comprehensive bill, I urge the leadership to permit consideration of this measure without unnecessary delay.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

(Mr. LOWERY of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LOWERY of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to discuss our current problems with illegal immigration to the United States. Indications from my San Diego district suggest that illegal immigration is running at an all-time level.

In the last fiscal year, the Immigration and Naturalization Service apprehended more than 1,200,000 aliens trying to enter the United States. One million of those apprehensions of illegal aliens came from the Border Patrol; the rest came from criminal investigators in the interior of the United States. Both of these figures are all-time records. All-time records, and the problem is only getting worse, Mr. Speaker.

And those high levels are not all, Mr. Speaker. Experienced Border Patrol officers file what are called "getaway reports" to indicate how many aliens successfully entered the United States. These getaways are aliens whom the Border Patrol could not catch, either because they were too far away or, as is increasingly the case, they just do not have the personnel or the vehicles to catch all the aliens coming by them.

Using these getaway reports, the Border Patrol estimates that between two and four aliens get away for each one they catch. That means in the last fiscal year, as many as 4,800,000 illegal aliens could have entered the United States.

I consider that an unacceptable situation, Mr. Speaker. Congress must quickly address Simpson-Mazzoli, which will allow us to solve this problem.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

(Mrs. JOHNSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, despite the virtual unanimous agreement across a broad spectrum of American society, among labor unions, business groups, newspapers, veterans, environmentalists, Republicans, Democrats, average Americans of all stripes that our borders are completely out of control, that our immigration policy is no policy, despite the years of hard work by a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives, the Speaker of this House unilaterally decreed that we in this body will not even have an opportunity to debate and consider the immigration reform bill, a bill, I might add, that has already passed the Senate.

Our Speaker said that there was "no constituency" for immigration reform, a statement that perhaps reflects philosophy that national problems should be subservient to the demands of narrow special interest groups.

I urge all Members—of both parties—to sign the discharge petition to get this bill to the floor. No man should be bigger than the entire House.

WHY THE ERA FAILED

(Mr. ZSCHAU asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ZSCHAU. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Democratic leadership of this House sold out the equal rights amendment in search of a campaign issue. Knowing full well that there were plenty of votes to pass the ERA, the Democratic leadership also knew they could count on some of its Republican cosponsors to act responsibly and protest against the cavalier consideration of a constitutional amendment without the opportunity of this body to debate it properly and consider amendments to it.

That is why the ERA failed.

As a Republican who voted for the ERA yesterday and as one who feels that equal rights for women is too important to be a partisan issue, I feel betrayed. This country needs the ERA and it needs it now.

Mr. Speaker, I call on the Democratic leadership, if it's truly interested in the passage of the ERA, to bring it to the floor quickly under a rule that will allow for proper consideration. If it does, the ERA will pass this House.

"PAY AS YOU GO" RESOLUTION

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, together with over 50 of our colleagues in the Congress, I am today introducing a resolution to establish a proven and effective means for challenging the most critical long-range economic problem this country confronts: A mounting and seemingly uncontrollable deficit.

Politicians, economists, the media, business leaders, working people throughout this country agree that soaring deficits pose a fundamental challenge to our economic recovery and our economic future as a nation. Last year, politicians of both parties were cringing at the prospects of a \$100 billion deficit. In fact, the deficit for 1983 is nearly twice that awesome amount, contributing nearly \$200 billion to a national debt that is well on its way to \$1½ trillion.

The cost of those policies is evident to all. In a nation where we are throwing children out of nutrition programs, denying medical care to the handicapped and the elderly, shutting down schools, failing to rebuild our highways and bridges, undercutting our housing programs—in short, reneging on our commitment to the American quality of life—we are spending nearly \$130 billion this year just to pay the interest on the national debt.

FAILURE OF THE BUDGET PROCESS

The budget process was supposed to establish an orderly method for planning our fiscal agenda. It has utterly failed. The budgets sent to the Congress by the President are farcical,

abandoned by his own political allies in Congress before they even reach Capitol Hill because they represent a callous and indefensible assault on the poor, the young, and the most vulnerable of our citizens.

Nor has Congress lived by the spirit or the letter of the Budget Act. We persistently fail to meet deadlines, we waive points of order, and we evade the reconciliation responsibilities to raise even the minimal revenues to which we have agreed in the budget resolution each year.

As a result, the budget is out of control, and the deficits are exorbitant.

When we created the Budget Act 10 years ago, the Federal deficit was under \$5 billion. Today, after years of spending cuts and tax cuts, spending increases and tax increases, the deficit threatens to exceed \$200 billion this year. Even worse, the deficit may well continue at that level unless some means for introducing responsibility and order into the budget process is found, both for the Congress and the President.

NEW APPROACH IS NEEDED

So let us try a new approach, an honest approach, one that tells the American people how things really are, not how we think they would like them to be. The American people do not expect miracles from their elected leaders, but they do expect the truth, and we have been deceiving them.

We have pretended—Democrats and Republicans alike—that we can provide all things to all people, and still live within our financial means. We cannot.

The Budget Act, and the entire congressional process, was designed to control spending and deficits by choosing priorities. But in the 9 years that I have served in this House, it has become apparent to me that we do not choose priorities. We choose all priorities, regardless of cost, and we send the bill to future generations of Americans who will inherit our deficit.

Deficit spending is no less the underwriter of Reaganomics than it was financier of the Great Society.

President Reagan has used the deficit to pay for his tax policies and his historic increase in military expenditures. Earlier Presidents used the deficit to pay for domestic spending or other priorities. But the fact is that all Presidents and all Congresses have relied on the deficit to finance their favorite spending policies, while denouncing the deficit at the very same time.

What we need is a budget process which treats all programs and all constituencies alike; a process which forces us in the Congress to make tough choices about spending, and which compels the American people to acknowledge the cost of the society in which we want to live.

The resolution which I am introducing today commits the Congress and the President to a budget process

which is fair and honest, a process which requires us to choose our spending priorities and to accept the responsibility of paying for them, instead of passing the cost along to our children.

PAY-AS-YOU-GO PLAN

That process is the pay-as-you-go budget plan, a plan which would control spending and reduce our deficits by tearing up the national credit card.

A year and a half ago, when we were debating the 1983 budget resolution, I offered the pay-as-you-go budget proposal to the House. According to the Congressional Budget Office, had we adopted my proposal in May of 1982, we could have balanced the Federal budget by 1985. Instead, according to this year's budget resolution, we will in all likelihood find ourselves with a budget deficit in excess of \$175 billion by that date.

Had we adopted pay-as-you-go this year, our deficit by 1986 would be one-third the level we anticipated in the current resolution, which already has been consigned to the dustbin of history by virtue of our failure to enact the revenue measures called for in that resolution.

The pay-as-you-go process is a straightforward and easily understood procedure by which most of our constituents, and over 40 States, organize their budgets.

We would establish our current outlay levels as a baseline. No spending would be allowed in excess of that baseline unless the Congress simultaneously agreed to pay for that spending increase, either by raising equivalent revenues or by reducing spending elsewhere in the budget.

Similarly, Congress could not reduce revenues below current levels without cutting spending by an equal amount.

CBO PREDICTS DEFICIT REDUCTIONS

If we follow this prescription, according to CBO, we will not add any new dollars to the deficit through future spending or tax decisions. In fact, because revenues naturally increase through the normal expansion of the economy, pay-as-you-go would result in a steady reduction in the deficit regardless of any future decisions on spending or taxation.

This proposal does not prohibit future spending. It only restricts future spending which adds to the deficit. If the Congress has the appetite to enact new spending legislation, let us also be responsible and tell the American people what that legislation will cost. And let us also then have the courage to pay for that decision.

Adoption of the pay-as-you-go budget would be an historic moment for this Congress. No longer would we continue to spend billions of deficit dollars to conceal waste, special-interest subsidies, or outdated and lavish programs that the economy cannot afford, the voters do not support, and the Congress does not have the courage to pay for.

Over 150 years ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote that "it is incumbent on

every generation to pay its own debts as it goes." Jefferson's wisdom is no less applicable to our own time than it was a century and a half ago. Indeed, reducing the deficit is even more critical today, because soaring and uncontrolled budget deficits threaten to undermine our economic system and destabilize our political process.

Pay-as-you-go is simple, but it is not easy. It will require that we in the Congress tell our constituents the real cost of running this Government. And it will require that our constituents be willing to pay for the quality of life that we enjoy in this country. It will hopefully also expose the waste and the largesse which inflate our budget and swell our deficits.

Pay-as-you-go will restore to the budget process two ingredients sorely missing: discipline and honesty. We need both today. I call upon all Members to endorse pay-as-you-go—the only workable nonpartisan method for controlling the deficit—and I would hope that the Congress will adopt this proven and effective process in 1984.

The text of the resolution, and the cosponsors, follow:

H.J. Res. —

Whereas the Federal deficit in fiscal year 1983 approached \$200 billion;

Whereas the current budget process relies largely on the deficit to finance additional spending decisions;

Whereas interest payments on the Federal debt in fiscal year 1983 exceeded \$128.8 billion;

Whereas current budget procedures offer no means for preventing the accumulation of hundreds of billions of dollars in additional debt in coming years;

Whereas the Federal Government's heavy use of the deficit consumes a substantial portion of available credit, which diminishes the availability of capital for private investment and personal borrowing;

Whereas a freeze of all spending and revenues at current policy levels, according to the Congressional Budget Office, will result in the steady reduction of the deficit as a result of the normal growth of the economy;

Whereas new spending above current policy levels will not increase the deficit if offset entirely by simultaneous increases in revenues or spending reductions in other areas of the budget;

Whereas adoption of such a "pay-as-you-go" budget process will treat all new spending identically;

Whereas the pay-as-you-go budget process will require the President and the Congress to establish priorities for spending and to identify specific means of paying for new spending decisions; and

Whereas implementation of the pay-as-you-go process will achieve the rapid reduction in Federal deficits, and will reduce the need for the Federal Government to consume credit which is needed to promote economic growth and jobs; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That for fiscal year 1985 and for each year thereafter, the President shall submit to the Congress, and the Congress shall adopt, a pay-as-you-go budget which freezes all revenues and outlays, including entitlements, at current levels (except that, in the case of entitlements, individuals who meet eligibility

standards shall not be denied participation); and be it further

Resolved, That any future legislative reductions in revenues be offset by equivalent reductions in outlays, and that any spending about the outlay baseline (including cost of living adjustments) shall be offset by equivalent increases in revenues or reductions in outlays so that no spending increase shall result in an increase in the deficit.

COSPONSORS TO "PAY-AS-YOU-GO"

Mr. Michael Andrews, Mr. Don Albosta, Mr. Doug Barnard, Mr. Dave Bonior, Mr. Berkley Bedell, Mr. Tom Beville, Mrs. Marilyn Lloyd, Mrs. Barbara Boxer, Mr. Hank Brown, Mr. Tony Coelho, Mr. Ron Coleman, Mr. Tom Daschle, Mr. Byron Dorgan, Mr. Dennis Eckart, Mr. Ben Erdreich, Mr. Sam Gejdenson, and Mr. Dan Glickman.

Mr. Al Gore, Mr. Tony Hall, Mr. Tom Harkin, Mr. Dennis Hertel, Mr. Bill Hughes, Mr. Abraham Kazen, Mr. Ray Kogovsek, Mr. William Lehman, Mr. Mel Levine, Mr. Elliott Levitas, Mr. Stan Lundine, Mr. Buddy MacKay, Mrs. Lynn Martin, Mr. James McNulty, Mr. Nick Mavroules, Mr. Bill Nelson, Mr. James R. (Jim) Olin, Mr. Bill Patman, Mr. Tim Penny, and Mr. William R. Ratchford.

Mr. Harry Reid, Mrs. Pat Schroeder, Mr. John P. Seiberling, Mr. Jerry Sikorski, Mr. Norman Sisisky, Mr. Jim Slattery, Mr. John Spratt, Mr. Pete Stark, Mr. Charles Stenholm, Mr. Mike Synar, Mr. Robin Tallon, Mr. Morris Udall, Mr. Bruce Vento, Mr. James (Jim) Weaver, Mr. William G. Whitehurst, Mr. Charles Whitely, and Mr. Bob Wise.

THE POWER OF SCHEDULING

(Mr. HARTNETT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HARTNETT. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, yesterday our Speaker eloquently told us of his power, his power to schedule. Yet today he arrogantly abuses that power by refusing to bring to the floor of the House of Representatives the immigration bill.

Oh, I think perhaps he feels he is hurting President Reagan—not helping him anyway—and not helping the Republican Party. But, Mr. Speaker, what you are doing, sir, is you are bringing things like leprosy, that once dreaded Biblical disease now 2,000 percent increase in the cases of leprosy in this country, you are allowing illiteracy and unemployment and health and economic problems to come into this country. And I submit to you, sir, you are not hurting President Reagan,

MEMBERS URGED TO SIGN DISCHARGE PETITION TO BRING IMMIGRATION REFORM BILL TO FLOOR OF THE HOUSE

(Mr. FISH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, in the 97th Congress and again in this Congress, the other body passed an immigration reform and control bill by overwhelming votes. Last year, and again this year, different House committees favorably reported similar legislation.

Action by the Speaker in the current session, however, has brought the legislative process to a screeching halt. The House of Representatives has been prevented from addressing one of the most urgent national problems facing the United States today—our lack of control over our borders. Thousands of undocumented aliens enter our country illegally each day—and the Speaker would have this body look the other way.

The frustration felt by so many Members of this body, as a result of the Speaker's action, must now be translated into a concerted effort to permit a majority of the House of Representatives to work its will. The vehicle for bringing H.R. 1510, the Immigration Reform and Control Act, to the floor is discharge petition No. 5, introduced by our colleague DAN LUNGREN of California. I urge the Members of this body, regardless of their views on particular details of H.R. 1510, to join with me in signing the discharge petition. We will have ample opportunity on the floor to address all concerns.

In a country with democratic institutions, the representatives of the people have a responsibility to legislate.

LEGISLATIVE TYRANNY

(Mr. GINGRICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, we hear a lot of complaints today about scheduling. But I think, frankly, that the various interest groups are getting what they pay for.

Yesterday the Speaker said: "The power of the Speaker of the House is the power of scheduling. I take it upon myself."

The dairy lobby works with the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and their bill comes up

mittee is playing a special-interest Rasputin to the Speaker's Czar Nicholas in what is now a legislative tyranny for clearly political purposes.

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CONGRESS MUST ACT ON IMMIGRATION REFORM

(Mr. McKERNAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McKERNAN. Mr. Speaker, putting politics aside for a moment, I think that most Members will agree that reform of our immigration policies is long overdue. We have lost control of our borders in recent years, with close to 1 million illegal aliens apprehended last year by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

There is a bill pending on the House Union Calendar that attempts to address this serious problem—H.R. 1510, the Immigration Reforms and Control Act of 1983. It is the product of four House committees and extensive hearings during the 97th Congress. Unfortunately, it has become caught up in the maze of Presidential politics. The Speaker of the House is blocking its consideration to prevent the President from using it to his advantage in the 1984 Presidential race.

Regardless of your views on H.R. 1510, it can serve as a vehicle for purposes of addressing our immigration problems. The Senate has already approved an immigration reform bill, and I urge my colleagues to assert themselves on this issue by signing discharge petition No. 5 to bring H.R. 1510 to the floor so we can address this important issue.

DISSERVICE TO AMERICANS ON IMMIGRATION REFORM

(Mr. HUNTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I find it deplorable that the Speaker would prevent the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill from coming to a vote on the floor of the House. To do so clearly makes a mockery of the democratic process, and we all know that there is a very strong constituency for immigration reform and we have learned in poll after poll that most Americans from all walks of life and from all ethnic backgrounds strongly